PRIVATE TUTORING IN AFGHANISTAN: THE ROLE OF PRIVATE TUTORING IN THE KONKOR EXAM

By

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A thesis submitted to the BRAC Institute of Educational Development in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education in Educational Leadership & School Improvement

BRAC Institute of Educational Development BRAC University June, 2024

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Declaration

It is hereby declared that:

1. The thesis submitted is my original work while completing my degree at Brac University.

2. The thesis does not contain material previously published or written by a third party, except

where this is appropriately cited through full and accurate referencing.

3. The thesis does not contain material that has been accepted or submitted, for any other

degree or diploma at a university or other institution.

4. I have acknowledged all main sources of help.

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Ethics Statement

This study involved interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with four teachers, twelve students, and parents. It included four one-to-one interviews and three FGDs with teachers from various provinces and locations across Afghanistan. All interviews and FGDs were conducted online, recorded, and securely saved.

Confidentiality was strictly maintained by not disclosing the real names of individuals or organizations mentioned by participants. Pseudonyms were used for individuals, and alphabetic codes were assigned to organizations in this paper.

Before conducting interviews, participants were provided with consent forms outlining the research details, including the title, objectives, research questions, and study site. Permission to record each interview and FGD was requested and graciously granted by all participants involved. Additionally, proper citation of all materials and resources used in this paper was ensured.

Abstract

Private tutoring has become a widespread phenomenon across the world countries including

Afghanistan. It is commonly provided to prepare students in Afghanistan for the Konkor exam

which is the national entrance exam to public universities. However, there is a handful of

studies conducted on this matter. This paper entitled "Private Tutoring in Afghanistan: The

Role of Private Tutoring in the Konkor exam" employed a qualitative method to gather data

from the stakeholders. Stakeholders here referred to students, teachers and parents. This paper

follows two aims, understanding the perceptions of the stakeholders regarding private tuition

and the role it plays in preparing students for the Konkor exam. The data for this study has been

gathered through four online one-to-one interviews with teachers and three online FGDs (Focus

group discussions) with students and parents. The findings of this study reveal that the

stakeholders perceive private tuition from different dimensions including economic, social and

academic. Generally, they show a positive viewpoint such as supporting school lessons,

preparing students for the exam and encouraging students. They also perceive that private

tutoring plays a significant role in student's preparation for Konkor exam which is very crucial

for the student's further study. However, they also mention some drawbacks such as creating

disparity and causing health issues for students and burdening low income families. It is

recommended that quality of school education should be improved so that students'

dependency on private education decrease. Additionally, more studies on private tutoring

especially on private tuition status at the present time should be conducted so that a clear picture

of private tutoring in Afghanistan can be illustrated.

Keywords: Private tutoring; Konkor exam; the perceptions of stakeholders;

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to my family, especially my elder brother, Mr. Samim Haidari, whose support and care for my education and that of my younger siblings will never be forgotten.

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This thesis would not be completed without the support and contribution of the following people. First and foremost, I would like to express my heartfelt thanks and utmost respect to my supervisor, Mrs. Nafisa Anwar, for her insightful guidance and unwavering support throughout the thesis writing process.

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Table of Content

Declaration	ii
Approval	iii
Ethics Statement	iv
Abstract	V
Dedication	vi
Acknowledgement	vii
Table of Content	viii
List of Tables and Figures	xi
List of Acronyms	xi
Chapter 1	1
Introduction and Background	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Research Topic	3
1.3 Statement of the Problem	3
1.4 Research Questions	4
1.5 Purpose of the Study	5
1.6 Significance of the Study	5
Chapter 2	7
Literature Review and Conceptual Framework	7
2.1 Parameters of private tutoring	7
2.2 The growth of private tutoring in the world	9
2.3 The Growth of Private Tutoring in Afghanistan	10
2.4 Konkor Exam in Afghanistan	11
2.8 Conceptual Framework	12

Chapter 3	13
Methodology	13
3.1 Research Approach	13
3.2 Research Participants and Site	13
3.3 Sampling Procedure	15
3.4 Data Collection Methods	15
3.5 Role of the Researcher	16
3.6 Data Analysis	17
3.7 Ethical Issues and Concerns	18
3.8 Credibility and Rigor	18
3.9 Limitations of the study	19
Chapter 4	20
Findings	20
4.1 The Stakeholders' Perceptions of Private Tutoring	20
4.2 The Private tutoring practice in private tutoring centers	21
4.3 Forms of Private Tutoring in Afghanistan	22
4.4 The Role of Private Tutoring for Student Preparation	23
4.5 Differences between School and Private Tutoring Centers	26
4.6 Disadvantages of private tutoring	30
Chapter 5	34
Discussion and Conclusion	34
5.1 Discussion	34
5.2 Conclusion	41
5.3 Recommendations	42
Dofowanaaa	4.4

Appendix A. Consent Letter	50
Appendix B. Interview Guide	51
Appendix C. Focus Group Discussion Guide	52
Appendix D. Sample of FGD Note	53

List of Tables and Figures

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework for perceptions on the role of private tutoring in Konkor...

12

List of Acronyms

JRS Jesuit Refugee Services

PTC Private Tutoring Center

IIS Institute of Ismaili Studies

IT Information Technology

MoE Ministry of Education

MoHE Ministry of Higher Education

EFL English as a Foreign Language

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Chapter 1

Introduction and Background

1.1 Introduction

Higher education plays a vital role in improving the quality of life of people, especially youths (Webb et al., 2018). Over the past two decades, the people of Afghanistan have become more aware of the significance of higher education and the potential it can change their lives. They value higher education to gain a better job, study their desired major, or enhance their competency and knowledge. Annually, thousands of students graduate from universities across Afghanistan, thus more youths are looking to uplift their knowledge and obtain degrees.

Since 2001, when relative stability returned in Afghanistan, a new chapter in the development of education has begun, marked by Baiza, Y. (2013) as redevelopment and reconstruction of modern education. Before the beginning of this period, the educational resources and infrastructures had been dramatically damaged due to years of war and conflict. When a new government was established in 2001, the national and international institutions began their collaboration with the government to reconstruct different sectors including education. It is considered a golden period for people of Afghanistan especially the younger generation to attend schools and universities more than any period (Pherali & Sahar, 2018). The number of school students increased significantly from nearly one million schools in 2001 to 9.5 million in 2019 (Naqawi, G. H., & Rajath, D. V. 2022).

In Afghanistan, two ministries are leading the education affairs in the country: the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Higher Education. The Ministry of Education-MoE directs the affairs related to schools, religious learning centers, private tutoring centers, and semi-higher education centers; while the Ministry of Higher Education-MoHE is responsible for both universities and higher education institutions.

Moreover, the establishment of private institutions was promoted when the first act of privatization was issued in 2006 (Saif, 2018). Based on the constitution of Afghanistan issued in 2004, the government supports and encourages private institutions including private schools and tutoring centers (Moreno, 2005). Since 2006, a considerable number of private institutions have been established which provide education services including vocational training, teacher training, religious education, and private tutoring. Private tutoring, which is known as shadow education, has acted as supportive learning for school studies (Bray, 2013). Mainly, it is called shadow education because it exists like a shadow in supporting school education.

Private tutoring in Afghanistan is commonly known for supporting school students in their school lessons to prepare for the Konkor exam. The Konkor exam is the only public exam conducted annually to identify qualified students of high school graduates for public universities 'seats. It is undertaken by the Ministry of Higher Education. It is mentionable that each student has two chances to take the exam.

Although the private tutoring phenomenon has been growing over the past years in the country, it has not received much attention from researchers. There are a few relevant and reliable materials discussed on the topic of private tutoring and the Konkor exam. For example, Baiza, Y. (2013) a research associate at the IIS-Institute of Ismaili Studies, discussed both private and formal education development of Afghanistan since the 20th century. Furthermore, Sherzad, A. R. (2016) examined some factors including candidates' choice selection and school performance in the success of students. Some articles investigate the impact of education initiatives. For instance, Mobariz, A. S. (2022) studied the impact of the capacity building program, which aimed to assist and support girls who live in remote regions to take preparation courses. Mohammad (2020), explored the economic impacts of Konkor preparation courses in Kabul for parents and students.

This research paper has five chapters. In the first chapter, the Research Topic and Question, Research Significance, Problem Statement, and Purpose of the Topic are articulated. In the second chapter, the reviewed literature is discussed. Following that, the third chapter is the methodology part discusses the research methods and tools for this study. Subsequently, the findings are discussed in the fourth chapter. Finally, the fifth chapter discusses the results and conclusion.

1.2 Research Topic

This research entitled "Private Tutoring in Afghanistan: The Role of Private Tutoring in the Konkor Exam" has been chosen due to certain reasons. Firstly, private tutoring has not been studied much even though it has been an expanded phenomenon across the country. While seeking the literature on this topic, it was realized that studies related to this topic have not been done yet. Secondly, my interest in this topic is sparked by my tutoring experience in one of the private tutoring centers in Kabul where I taught mathematics. I became eager to deepen my understanding and contribute to the body of knowledge by exploring it. It also explores how private tutoring assists students with the Konkor exam. Although there are a few studies about the Konkor exam, the role of private tutoring has not been explored yet. This title deals with three aspects: private tutoring, the Konkor exam, and the perception of the stakeholders.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

According to the Education Law of Afghanistan (2008), it is aimed that post-secondary education prepares students to be accepted into public universities. In Afghanistan, despite the growing number of students who complete high school and are eligible for the Konkor, their enrollment in public universities is relatively small (Sokout, H., & Paracha, S. 2014). Thus, most school students prefer to choose private tutoring centers to prepare for the exam. The challenges in schools such as the lack of resources for the exam (Sokout, H., & Paracha, S.

2014) and poor quality of teachers (Moreno, 2005), are considered as the main reasons for students' preference toward private tutoring centers.

Furthermore, when the government permitted private education in 2010, several PTCs- private tutoring centers started their activity in the provision of private education for different subjects and disciplines. As a result, more parents were encouraged to send their children to such educational centers.

On the other hand, private tutoring alongside school learning has been restricted for secondary girl students in Afghanistan since 2021, when the new regime came into power (Easar et al., 2023). They are not allowed to participate neither in school nor private tutoring centers. According to the educational authorities, this restriction is referred to social, cultural, and security reasons (Easar et al., 2023). Additionally, secondary girl students are not allowed to participate in Konkor exam.

Moreover, there's a prevalent belief among school stakeholders such as teachers, parents, and administrators of both public and private education settings in central Asian countries that private tutoring is essential for achieving better performance and exam results. (Silova, I. 2010). In some societies such as Hong Kong, it is perceived as a supporting and complementary system. (Richard, 2021). While students and parents in Turkey (İçbay, M. A. 2005) perceive it as a source of extra earnings for teachers. Although most parents However, there is a lack of study on how it is perceived by stakeholders in Afghanistan and what roles it plays in student preparation for the Konkor exam. This gap could be addressed by hearing their voices through an academic study.

1.4 Research Questions

Question 1:

What are the perceptions of Students, teachers, and parents toward private tutoring?

Question 2:

What is the role of private tutoring in the student's preparation for the Konkor exam?

1.5 Purpose of the Study

The study is designed to explore the private tutoring phenomenon based on the perception of teachers, students, and parents. They are considered key players in child education. Mainly, it explores the motivations and reasons for students' participation in private tutoring classes and how private tutoring is practiced in some private tutoring centers in both rural and urban areas. Furthermore, it studies the role of private tutoring in Konnor's preparation of students who finished their primary level and planning to pursue higher education. Despite that, the methods and strategies used in private tutoring centers, their differences from the school context, and their effectiveness and impacts are discussed. Lastly, its advantages and disadvantages from the stakeholders' viewpoints are discussed.

1.6 Significance of the Study

Since 2001, private tutoring has seen significant growth and expansion in both rural and urban areas of Afghanistan, running parallel to regular education (Sherzad, A. R. 2018). Despite its rapid promotion, there have been only a handful of studies conducted to understand this phenomenon.

This study aims to fill this gap in the body of knowledge by providing valuable insights into the current state of education in Afghanistan. It seeks to understand the role of private tutoring within the broader educational landscape, and how it is shaping learning outcomes. The findings from this study can inform future policies and practices aimed at enhancing the quality of education in the country.

Furthermore, this research could serve as a reference for other researchers interested in this field, paving the way for further studies. By shedding light on the practice of the private tuition system in Afghanistan, this study can contribute significantly to the body of knowledge on education in post-conflict societies.

Chapter 2

Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

This chapter discusses the literature related to the topic of private tutoring and the Konkor exam. Due to a lack of relevant studies in Afghanistan's context, I have explored this topic in other parts of the world especially developed countries that have some similarities with our context. There is limited available literature on the subject of Konkor, private tutoring, and stakeholder perceptions in Afghanistan.

2.1 Parameters of private tutoring

Private tutoring become a broad phenomenon across different parts of the world. (Bray, M., & Kobakhidze, M. N. 2014) To gain a deeper understanding of it, its parameters and aspects should be discussed. Bray, (1999) identifies three dimensions, which could differentiate it from other types of private leanings: academic aspect, privateness, and payment.

The first aspect of private tutoring is its academic purpose. Private learning could be provided both for academic and non-academic purposes. There are private centers that operates for tutoring music, art, and sports. However, this study considers private tutoring to enhance student's competency and knowledge in the subjects required in the Konkor exam. In the Konkor exam, questions are prepared from science, social science, and language subjects. Furthermore, private tutoring could be for standardized tests including IELTS, the International English Language Test, and TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language) (Yung, K. W. H., & Hajar, A. 2023). In Afghanistan, there are enormous centers for preparing students for these tests, however, this study focuses on the private tutoring that is operating for the Konkor preparation examination.

The second parameter is payment as mentioned by Bray (1999) - who pays for it. Private tutoring could be paid for by parents or some NGO-non-NGO-governmental organizations or

subsided by state. For example, some organizations such as JRS- Jesuit Refugee Services, an international organization (JRS, 2023). Its services are mostly for refugees and displaced people. It supports complementary education for children, youth programs, vocational training, mental well-being, and psychological support within different provinces including Kabul, Herat, and Daikundi. Its learning centers provide literacy, English language, ICT- information communication and technology, and Konkor preparation courses. Another example is BRD-BRAC learning division ("BRAC Learning Division signed an MOU", 2014) as cited by Islam, (2019). It was an agreement between the government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh and BRAC- an international NGO, to educate people across the country. The focus of this research is on both private tutoring centers provided by individual and non-governmental agencies.

Third, private tutoring is a supplementation of learning. It means that private tutoring supports the mainstream school to reduce the burden of learning. (Bray, 1999). There are enormous subjects taught in mainstream schools that might not be learned properly in the school due to the issues such as shortage of time, quality of teaching, or providing feedback and giving instruction for students.

What is more, there are different forms of private tutoring including one-to-one, small group, large group, and even through internet and radio. The form that is under the focus of this research is the large group classes where a lecturer teaches around 100-500 students in a large hall, similar to a theater hall.

Moreover, there are different terminologies used for private tutoring in Afghanistan and other countries. For example, in English-speaking countries, it's known as "private tuition" and providers are called "centers, academia, and institutions". In Japan, such educational centers are called "JEKO" (Bray, 1999), and in Turkey, they're known as "Dersane" (Ireson, 2001, as cited in Bray & Silva, 2006). In Afghanistan, these service centers are referred to by various

names such as educational centers, institutions, learning centers, or Konkor preparation centers. Despite the mentioned aspects, private tutoring centers cater to different age groups and educational levels of students, from ECD to primary, secondary, and tertiary grades. This study is concerned with secondary and post-secondary levels, which prepare students for the Konkor exam.

2.2 The growth of private tutoring in the world

According to Bray, (1999), private tutoring is increasing in most societies of the world. In China, 80% of tenth graders receive private tutoring; while in South Korea it is 60.5% of high-school students. Likewise, 46% of school students in the Philippines were enrolled in private tutoring centers. (Bray, M., & Lykins, C., 2012).

The growth of private tutoring is multidimensional. There are different factors including social, economic, cultural, educational, and geographical factors. (Bray, 2005, 2009, and 2010). Baker et al. (2001) believes that private tutoring has been as a tradition in some societies. It has a rooted practice in eastern societies of Asia (Bray. M, 2003) due to the competitive nature of the education system and parent concern. For instance, the term "education fever"- social emphasis on education, could exemplify the intense pressure on parents to academic success. (Lee, 2005). Socially, private tutoring leads to achieving superiority or gaining fluent success. (Pallegedara & Mottaleb, 2018). On the other hand, it has been perceived as a source of social segregation as it is probably less affordable for households who have low incomes. (Jerrim & Sims, 2020).

From a socioeconomic perspective, it could offer some benefits for tutors and tutoring centers. For teachers, it could lead them to become more respected and known (Popa & Acedo, 2006), serving as a source of extra income. Basically, a study by Popa & Acede (2006) shows that the low salary of school teachers is the reason that they prefer to attend private courses. Moreover,

Dang (2013) argued that there is a significant gap in the number of children using private learning between urban and rural children.

There are some controversial perspectives regarding this phenomenon. Bray, (1999) argues that it could reduce the workloads of mainstream education. It leads to progress in the academic performance of students in Tanzania (Mlawa, K. P., & Mtitu, E. A. 2022). In Egypt, private tutoring has become a source of extra income for school teachers (Hartmann, 2008). In Nepal, students perceive it beneficial due to boosting student's confidence and providing feedback for them. (Saebed, 2021). In some societies like China (Zhang, Y., 2013), it served more for the students who struggle with their studies. Parents in some Central Asian countries perceive private tutoring essential both for the children's academic performance and for obtaining better results in exams.

On the other hand, there are several criticisms of private tutoring. Harber, (2014) argues that private tutoring provided by non-state agencies might be less sustainable and reliable, due to their fairly consideration about quality and their highly dependency on the fees collecting from students. Thus, it could have impact negatively on long term benefits of education. Despite it, student in urban areas have more access to private tutoring compared to rural areas, with a percentage of 66.6% and 91% relatively. Families in some societies such as Turkey (İçbay, M. A. 2005), struggle with affording tutoring fees due to their low income.

2.3 The Growth of Private Tutoring in Afghanistan

Private tutoring has seen significant growth in in south Asian countries including Afghanistan (Dahal & Nguyen, 2014) which could be attributed to various factors such as cultural, educational, and economic. Private tutoring, culturally, has taken place in homes and mosques (Baiza, 2018). Learning in the mosque and at home was legitimated in 1923 to prepare children before school education (Baiza, 2018).

From an economic prospect, it has become an entrepreneurship and source of income for private tutoring centers. Over the past decades, enormous private tutoring centers established in the country in different parts of Afghanistan. A conducted study from 16 private tutoring centers in Kabul province shows that they earned an income of 619 million Afghanianistan currency units, within one year (Zaheen, 2020).

Furthermore, the lack of resources and learning materials in mainstream schools could be another factor in its growth. For instance, ICT subject is taught in schools without students' access to a computer lab (Seendani, 2013); nonetheless, most private tutoring centers are equipped with ICT labs and the internet.

2.4 Konkor Exam in Afghanistan

In Afghanistan, students aspiring to pursue tertiary education in public universities are required to pass an exam known as the Konkor exam (Sherzad, 2018). The term 'Konkor' is probably a modified version of the French word 'Concours', which denotes the process of sourcing, screening, and selecting individuals for various purposes (Alavi et al., 2021). Konkor, as the sole mechanism in identifying competent students for public universities, plays a crucial role in the career life and future life of students in Afghanistan (Sherzad, A. R. 2018). The Konkor exam comprises 360 questions, with half dedicated to science subjects and the other half to social sciences (geography, history) and languages (Persian and Pashto) (Bamik, H. 2019). The exam is administered annually by the Ministry of Higher Education's Directorship of Konkor Examination. However, some educational analysts of Afghanistan including Sherzad, A. R. (2018) argue that the Konkor exam has been an ineffective tool for identifying qualified students, as it primarily benefits students who excel in mathematics and have strong examtaking skills while overlooking students with talents in the arts.

2.8 Conceptual Framework

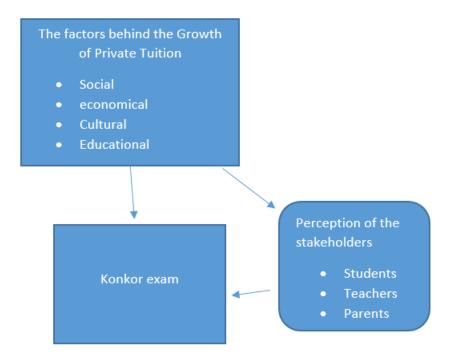


Figure 1: Conceptual Framework for perceptions on the role of private tutoring in Konkor

Chapter 3

Methodology

This chapter discusses the methods employed in this study. It discusses the steps proceeded for data collection which involved the research approach, sampling size and site, the sampling procedure, type of data, the process of data collection, the researcher's role, data analysis, ethical issues and concerns, creditability and rigor of the study, and the research limitations.

3.1 Research Approach

Generally, there are three research methods for educational research: qualitative method, quantitative method, and mixed method (Creswell, 2012). Based on the nature of the research questions and purpose, using a qualitative method seemed more relevant and useful for this research. This research aims to know the perceptions of stakeholders about private tutoring and thus a qualitative method used to understand more about the views of people and obtain detailed information from a few people (Creswell, 2012).

Moreover, the focus of this research is to study the phenomenon of private tutoring thoroughly which could be addressed through using qualitative data. This study followed the five steps discussed by Creswell (2012), for data collection which are identifying the site and participants, seeking their permissions, determining the information needed to address the questions, providing protocol, and administrating the procedure.

3.2 Research Participants and Site

Similar to most educational qualitative research, this study employed purposeful sampling. The intentional selection will enable researchers to understand more deeply the central phenomenon of the research (Creswell, 2012). Patton (2002) as cited by Suri (2011) believes that before choosing the research's site and respondents, it should be ensured that they possess rich data.

In this research, people from different provinces and backgrounds were selected as participants. There were 16 respondents in interviews and FGDs. In the interview, there were four teachers from different provinces and contexts. The reason behind this selection was to gather experiences and perceptions of the teachers from different provinces as private tutoring has widely been practiced in different provinces across the country. The teachers who have teaching experience in both contexts of the school setting and private tutoring centers, to gather information about the difference between the two contexts. The participants were from different ages from 22 to 41 with teaching experience from 2-10 years. Three of them were male and one of them was female teachers. It was because, in private tutoring centers, most teachers are male.

Similarly, in FGD also participants were from different provinces, backgrounds, and genders. The FGDs were with students and parents; students as the main stakeholders who directly use private tutoring and parents as supporters of their children who are considered the key players in the learning process. Before selecting student participants, it was considered whether they have experience of being taught in both school and private tutoring centers. Among the students, there were both successful and unsuccessful students. In other words, those who could pass the exam successfully and enter their desired major and university, and those who could not.

As briefly mentioned before, they were from both rural and urban contexts. Different forms of private tutoring centers are operating in different provinces which differ based on their fees, teaching methods, materials, and resources. Thus, the participants were from different provinces and parts of the country including Kabul, Daikundi, Badakhshan, Baghlan, and Balkh. Most participants were from Kabul, the capital of the country with more than four million population (Wilmoth et al., 2023) is the most populated city in the country and a place for some of the popular private tutoring centers. Daikundi is a rural province in the central part

of the country, where some NGOs are working to provide private tutoring services for the people living there.

3.3 Sampling Procedure

This study employs purposeful sampling for data collection. Based on the problem and purpose of the research, using a sampling approach seemed more effective. This qualitative research explores the stakeholders' perceptions and discusses the practice of private tutoring in Afghanistan; thus, purposeful selection seemed essential in collecting deep data. For finding sample sites and respondents, these steps were followed.

Firstly, the characteristics of participants and sites were identified and then the people who represent different dimensions of the site and people were explored. Before data collection, some characteristics of participants and private tutoring centers had been identified and participants and sites had been chosen accordingly. These characteristics were locations, gender, age, fees, tutoring forms, teaching and studying experiences. Then, a sample of 16 people was selected for four interviews and three FGDs.

3.4 Data Collection Methods

There are different types of qualitative data collection including observation, interview, document review, and audiovisual materials (Maxwell, 2012), which are used for qualitative research based on the nature of research questions. For this qualitative approach, two types of methods s were used: one-to-one interviews and focus group discussions. There were four interviews and three focus group discussions. The reason behind preferring this approach over other approaches is that it allows researchers to ask open-ended questions to collect in-depth data.

3.4.1 Interview method

The one-to-one interview is a type of interview that is conducted individually and the responses are recorded (Maxwell, 2012). In this research, there were four interviews with teachers who have teaching experience in school and private tutoring contexts. This approach could be used visually or physically in the presence of participants. Since I have been living in Bangladesh and the participants were in Afghanistan, I had the only choice to conduct it virtually. This approach is also recommended when the researcher ensures that the participants share their thoughts freely and talk without hesitations. My interviewees were school teachers who are commonly good at freely sharing their thoughts in online interviews. Moreover, I used my computer recorder to record the interview and data, which later were used for transcription and analysis.

3.4.2 Focus Group Discussion

Researchers use this approach when they want to know a shared understanding of a group (Maxwell, 2012). In this research, this approach was employed to collect the experiences and attitudes of students and parents on private tutoring. As the research questions aimed to understand the perceptions of students and parents from different contexts, using this research created a discussion among participants from different contexts to exchange their experiences. Overall, three FGD with students and parents were conducted: two FGDs were with students and one FGD was with the students' parents. An open-ended question list for the discussion had been provided before the FGD conducting. This approach is also effective in bringing into discussion of those people who talk with hesitate. Some of the students seemed not much comfortable to articulate their views at in-person discussion. Therefore, this approach was used to encourage them to share their thoughts by seeing and considering other group members. Additionally, some of the parents were not interested in talking to one-to-one interview, while they seemed more willingly to talk in a group with other students' parents. Furthermore, having

the experience of leading a group discussion in academic centers, where I was teaching, encouraged me feel more comfortable in managing and keeping control over the discussion, where controlling the panel is considered a key factor in gathering a quality data (Maxwell, 2012).

3.5 Role of the Researcher

Throughout this study, I made efforts to minimize bias and prejudice. Given my personal experience in teaching and studying at private tutoring centers, which could potentially influence data collection and analysis, I focused the role of researcher committed to gathering accurate and authentic information from participants. Additionally, I carefully prepared research question for both Focus group discussions and interviews to avoid giving hints or clues to the participants. During data collections, my focus remained on facilitating the collection of unbiased data.

3.6 Data Analysis

Data analysis is one of the crucial steps in research which requires a good understanding of how to make sense of the words of participants provided in response to the research questions (Creswell, 2012). To better organize and interpret the gathered data, I followed the five steps of data analysis suggested by Creswell (2012). The steps were data organizing, transcribing, coding, theming and reporting, and discussing.

Initially, after every interview and FGD were finished, I organized the gathered data into separate files saved by the names of participants and dates to access them easily later. Then, the recorded data were transcribed. It means I carefully listened to the respondents 'recordings and typed them in a Word document. After that, the transcribed data were coded. Before generating codes, I thoroughly read the transcriptions to familiarize myself with their similar senses.

The next stage was generating themes from codes. The codes were grouped based on topic similarity. From these groups, themes were generated. From data gathered for this study, overall, six themes were generated, which are discussed in chapter four (findings) and chapter five (discussion and conclusion).

3.7 Ethical Issues and Concerns

Following ethical guidelines provided by Flick (2022), each participant provided informed consent, and pseudonyms were used to ensure confidentiality. The data was collected with the participants' consent. Before each interview, participants were given a consent letter to read, which clearly outlined all research-related information such as the title, location, and purpose of the study. The letter also emphasized that participants had the right to withdraw from the interview at any point and could choose not to answer any questions or share any information they were uncomfortable with. They were reassured that all their details, including their names, institutions, age, gender, and other information, would be kept confidential. During conducting interviews, efforts were made to avoid any bias or prejudice.

3.8 Credibility and Rigor

To enhance the creditability of my work, two pilot interviews were conducted. They also assisted me in practicing interview taking and noticing those questions require changes and improvements. Furthermore, we participated in two research courses offered under our Master's degree program, which uplifted our knowledge and understanding of research and its methods. Furthermore, I have had some fruitful discussions with my supervisor and other academic instructors whose positive views on the topic persuaded me to study the topic. Furthermore, I have taught at one of the private tutoring centers in Kabul for more than one year from where I have gained some experiences about this phenomenon. I also used a triangulation method involving various participants to view the phenomenon from multiple

perspectives. I ensure that the findings of this research will not be shared or disclosed with anyone without a legal way and academic purpose.

3.9 Limitations of the study

Undeniably, every research study comes with its own set of limitations, and this study is no exception. These limitations should be taken into account as they could potentially impact the research findings. The first limitation is the small sample size. As private tutoring is an expanded phenomenon in Afghanistan and there were limited participants for the research, the finding may not represent a whole picture of the private tutoring context.

Another limitation relates to connectivity issues. The interviews and focus group discussions were conducted online via Zoom and Whatsapp platforms. While online interviews do have certain advantages, they also come with their own set of challenges. For instance, participants sometimes lost their connection, which could have affected the quality of their responses and disrupted the flow of the discussion. Additionally, sometimes poor connectivity causes the interviewer to turn off the video call and continue with the audio call, losing the opportunity to observe the body language of interviewees which is considered and helpful source of gathering data.

Another limitation is the government's restriction on girl's education. Since the political change in 2021, female students at the secondary level have not been allowed to go neither school nor private tutoring centers, which made it very difficult to find female respondents for the study. Although there are reports of girls studying secretly in private homes, it was still challenging to find and contact them. The girls who participated in this research were school graduates of previous years before the changes, and they shared their experiences reflected the picture of the years before August 2021.

Chapter 4

Findings

The data for this research has been gathered through interviews and FGDs. There were four online Interviews with teachers, who had teaching experience in both school and private tutoring contexts, students, and parents. The interviews and FGDs were used to address two objectives of this study. The first is to understand how this phenomenon is perceived by the stakeholders, and the second is to see the role of private tutoring in preparing students for the Konkor exam. The teacher participants chosen for interviews were from both rural and urban areas. They were from the provinces of Kabul, Baghlan, Badakhshan, Bamyan and Balkh. To keep the privacy of my participants, pseudonyms were used instead of their real names. The following are the themes generated from coded data.

- 1. The stakeholder perceptions of private tutoring
- 2. Private tutoring practices in private tutoring centers
- 3. Forms of Private tutoring in Afghanistan
- 4. The role of private tutoring for student preparation
- 5. Differences between school and private tutoring centers
- 6. Disadvantages of private tutoring

4.1 The Stakeholders' Perceptions of Private Tutoring

The stakeholders have different perceptions on private tutoring. Mostly, they perceive it as an effective and positive phenomenon. Most parents think private tutoring assists their children to prepare for the exam and study. Also, they mentioned their children do not struggle with the challenges students have in public schools. They mentioned several issues including a lack of teachers with competency, insufficient teaching time, poor leadership, and poor motivation of

students. Jawad, a teacher who has recently graduated from university and become a private tutoring teacher, shared the struggles he faced when he was a student.

All subjects, whether language such as Dari and Pashto or scientific and mathematical, lacked a systematic approach that would allow students to be adequately prepared for university entrance exams from the beginning of their studies until the end of grade 12. Another issue I encountered during my schooling was the irregular class schedules and time allocation. Some subjects received insufficient time, while others were allocated more time than necessary. This imbalance meant that certain topics were left incomplete. Another critical reason was the lack of quality teachers. During my time at school, there were very few highly qualified teachers. (FGD#2, 2/15/2024)

Another participant in FGD#3, a parent, whose children studied in private tutoring centers shared his experience and said:

I must say that schools are good places for learning, but they face a lot of challenges. For example, there is poor leadership and students are not very interested in going to school. But in private tutoring centers, there is good management and students participate in classes enthusiastically. And as our children are satisfied with private tutoring, we are satisfied as well (FGD#3, 03/07/2024)

Furthermore, another participant added that private tutoring centers prepare a competitive environment for students, which is not only between the students but also between the centers, which makes them to try their best and have more successful students in the Konkor exam. In addition, another parent (FGD#3) said that the positive result that students gained in the exam encouraged other youths and younger students to participate in Konkor preparation classes. Moreover, teachers also perceive it as a plus point for school students. In interview#2, when the teacher participant was asked about what is private tutoring, he said:

Private tutoring which prepares students for the Konkor exam is very effective. The effectiveness is due to focusing on a particular subject. As an example, they focus on specific subjects such as mathematics, Physics, and chemistry. As they provide private education for the charges of fees, they are made to develop their learnings based on student's expectations and demands. (Interview#2, 02/11/2024)

4.2 The Private tutoring practice in private tutoring centers

The findings of this research suggest that there are two programs for Konkor exam preparation; Basics of science subjects and Konkor exam preparation. The difficult school subjects such as mathematics, chemistry, and physics are covered separately under the basic program. Konkor

exam preparation is a package containing whole Konkor subjects including Science subjects, language, and social subjects. It is mentioned that before starting a Konkor preparation course, the nominated students go through a pre-course assessment to measure their competency in science subjects.

Based on the evaluation, the students will be enrolled either in basic or Konkor preparation programs. Moreover, there are different approaches for covering the subjects. For example, science subjects including math, geometry, trigonometry, chemistry, and physics are taught in private tutoring centers. Social subjects such as geography, History, and Languages- Dari and Pashto are assigned for self-study. Zaman in interview#3, elaborated in this regard.

Some private educational centers start from basic arithmetic and progress all the way to advanced mathematics. They cover topics like algebra, equations, and eventually advanced mathematics. Similarly, they follow this approach for physics, chemistry, geometry, and trigonometry. Once the science subjects are completed, they move on to social sciences and language. (Interview#2, 02/15/2024)

4.3 Forms of Private Tutoring in Afghanistan

According to the information given by the participants, they mentioned three different forms of private tutoring are available in Afghanistan. Which are provided by individuals, NGOs, and village communities. For instance, Zaman in interview#2, who is currently pursuing his Ph.D. in Economics, stated,

According to my understanding, private tutoring is a kind of investment in education to earn money and meet the expectations of students. In economics, we have privatization which governments share the responsibility of different sectors with private sectors. In education, we could say it is a kind of privatization of education to fill the gaps in schools and help student in their Konkor preparation. (Interview#2, 11/02/2024)

Additionally, when he was asked about who pays for it, he said that the parents pay for such kind of services provided by private tutoring, and in return, the center provides resources and learning facilities for students. Another teacher in interview#3 mentioned, "*The private tutoring center which is established by individuals are often operating in cities because there is a great number of students living in.*" (Interview#3. 02/15/2024).

The second form of private tutoring mentioned by a teacher participant, who is currently teaching in NGO private tutoring centers, expressed, "In the town we live, there are private tutoring centers supported by Jesuit refugee services (JRS). In addition to teaching computers and the English language, they also provide Konkor preparation courses for students. A lot of people send their children to the center which is free of charge." (Interview #4, 02/11/2024)

The third form is village-community private tuition, which is conducted during the winter season in the villages. Based on the findings, the village community gathers and exchanges their viewpoints regarding hiring a teacher who is usually chosen from school teachers or university students to teach Konkor subjects. "As I remember, they asked me to teach Mathematics, Pashto, English, and Science subjects for three months of winter. I used school classrooms for teaching because of school holidays in winter (Interview#1, 01/22/2024).

4.4 The Role of Private Tutoring for Student Preparation

Private tutoring could prepare students for the Konkor exam by providing qualified teachers and equipping students with the contents and skills required for the exam. It assists the student to improve their knowledge of the school subjects and exam procedures. Students are supported by the private tutoring centers in the following ways:

4.4.1 Access to Quality Teachers

Most of the participants say that the shortage of quality teachers has been a challenge in schools, while private tutoring centers do not have this issue. As the student participants in FGD#1 were asked about their intention to join private tutoring, they mentioned different challenges that had been faced in the school context. Dilshad, a student of a private tutoring center from Balk City, stated her insights:

The quality of teaching-learning is poor in both public and private schools. The teachers are not qualified teachers as they do not teach according to their studied major and the school management utilizes them in teaching any subjects without teachers. It

makes students follow private tutoring to reach their targeted goal. (FGD#1, 02/19/2024)

Similarly, Hamid, a student from Kabul City, added to the point and said, "There was a lack of teachers in my school. The school management often used the available teachers for covering all subjects. There, we had math teachers who were teaching Pashto." (FGD#1, 02/19/2024). When he was asked about its impact, he responded that students had missed most of the important contents and concepts of the subject that should have been taught. Adding to this point, Omid, another student said, "In the school, we had teachers who did not know the contents and topics of the subject. Whenever we asked them questions, their answer was," We will skip this part, and it will not come in the exam". (FGD#2, 02/27/2024).

4.4.2 Support School Lessons

Private tutoring assists students in reviewing and studying the lessons of different grades and repeating the topics and contents of lower grades, perceived as helpful for student learning. As an example, Hamid, a participant from Kabul, shared his insight, "Another reason could be the fact that when students are in grade 12, they will not remember the contents of lower grades. Therefore, studying through private tutoring helps them to review the whole contents and become more prepared to respond to the Konkor questions." (FGD#1, 02/19/2024). Additionally, it also has helped students to learn the contents which have been difficult for them. Sami, a student of private tutoring in a rural area, expressed, "Exactly, private tutoring helps us to solve the contents and concepts which have been missed in school. As an example, it helped to understand the Integral [a mathematical concept], which I had missed in school learning." (FGD#2, 02/27/2024). Likewise, another participant, Wahid, said, "As I experienced the school, I have come to the result that there are a lot of subjects such as chemistry or mathematics, which includes complex concepts, cannot be understood without private tutoring." (FGD#1, 02/19/2024).

4.4.3 Accelerate Student Confidence, Reading Skills, and Exam Skills

Private tutoring could serve the students to be equipped with the skills required for the exam. Most participants perceived that it enhanced their different skills including testing skills, reading speed, and improving their confidence. These are the words of Dilshad in the FGD#1 who believes tutoring courses have helped her enhance exam skills.

More specifically, Konkor's preparation helped me to enhance my focus and attention; before, I had not read properly the questions. There are some tricky questions which start with a positive word and end with a negative word. Previously, I had been scanning the question and selecting one option without much attention. I used to choose an option that seemed correct. Studying at Private tutoring centers, I have gained the capacity to read the questions properly and analyze what is being asked. I spent about three hours on 160 questions on the exam. I enhanced my capacity to answer within the given hours. (FGD#1, 02/19/2024).

It also improves the reading skills and patterns of students. Hamid, from the urban context, elaborated on this discussion and said:

Despite helping us pass the exam, it also enhanced our reading skills. For example, we might have read a book in school within hours without understanding the points, but, preparation courses have helped us improve our reading speed. As we had to complete the reading of a book or two within a week, it changed the habit of our reading and we became more fast readers. (FGD#1, 02/19/2024).

Furthermore, it could play a critical role for students to be familiarized with the exam procedures and types of questions. For instance, Hamid, in FGD#1, shared his viewpoint, "In my opinion, the students who want to pass the exam should take at least a short-term course to get familiarity of the questions. There is a big difference between the school exams and Konkor exam" (FGD#1, 02/19/2024). Kadrin, another participant in the discussion, added and said:

Before I started preparing for the Konkor, whenever I heard about the Konkor, I felt upset, thinking it was the hardest task in the world. But when I started preparing, my confidence increased day by day. Whenever I took an exam and got high scores, I felt more and more confident that I could succeed in my desired field" (FGD#1, 19/02/2024)

4.4.4 Major Selection

Private tutoring guides the students to gain the required score for their desired major and university. In FGD#2, Ali, a student participant, discussed this matter from his points of view in this way:

The tutoring center helped me a lot to succeed in my desired field and university. Since I was a school student, engineering was my desired field. I wanted to become an engineer. After the results of the mock test in the center were announced, I saw my score which convinced me I would get the required score for my planned major. When the main Konkor was approaching, I consulted with the course teacher and he also advised me on the choice of the field because in Konkor you can choose five majors. And fortunately, I succeeded in my first choice at the Polytechnic University of Kabul. (FGD#2, 27/02/2024)

Another student participant in the same conversation expressed their viewpoints and said,

One of the challenges that students are facing is major selection. Because the scores of different universities and fields vary according to universities and majors. The year I took the Konkor exam, even though I got a good score. However, I still failed because the fields I had chosen required a very high score. (FGD#2, 27/02/2024)

4.5 Differences between School and Private Tutoring Centers

4.5.1 Quality Teachers and Teaching Timings

It is stated by most participants that there are quality teachers in private tutoring centers, while in school, there are not quality teachers. For instance, Hamid in FGD#1 believed.

I think the main reason that students join private tutoring courses is that school teachers teach subjects which is not based on their experience and qualifications. Obviously, they cannot teach properly students to understand the lessons; but, in the centers, a teacher teaches based on their qualifications, this is why the content is understood more comprehensively and properly. (FGD#2, 02/27/2024)

Another participant in the same discussion, added, "In our school, we were facing the problem of shortage of teachers. I think it was because there were many classes and few teachers, and the school administration had to use available teachers in all subjects." (FGD#1, 02/19/2024) In terms of differences in lesson timings, teacher participants mentioned that teachers in private tutoring centers have more time to teach. Mrs. Zarifa in interview#4, who has teaching experiences in both contexts, indicated.

Another problem I faced in school is that the class time is very short. For a subject, it might be taught two or three times a week within 35 minutes. But in our private educational centers, I had two hours daily for one subject, which was taught six days a week. I could implement my lesson plan properly. (Interview#4, 02/11/2024)

4.5.2 Teaching Methods and Learning Materials

The teaching materials and teaching methods used in both contexts are perceived differently by the participants. Mrs. Zarifa in interview#4, explained:

In school, the teaching method typically involves the following steps: First, when we enter the classroom, we inquire about the students' well-being and settle them down. Then, we review previous lessons and connect them to the current topic. Before starting the lesson, we create motivation by indirectly introducing problems or objects related to the subject matter. We link these to the current lesson. Similarly, we relate the current topic to previously studied subjects. Next, we spend around 20 to 25 minutes explaining the lesson and engaging in class activities. Toward the end, we assign homework to the students. This is my teaching approach in school. (Interview#4, 11/02/2024)

When she was probed with the question of what methods were used in private tutoring centers, she said that they use a lecture approach and sometimes engage students by asking questions. It is due to time limitations. According to her words, PTC aims to cover the designated topics within the specified time. "For example, if we consider a physics textbook, it should be completed within a certain period, usually finishing one chapter per hour. Therefore, it's not possible to accomplish multiple tasks within an hour". (Interview#4, 11/02/2024) another teacher interviewee in interview#2, also expressed that teaching methods in their centers are lecture-based and rarely engaging activities. Additionally, a public school teacher shared his perspective and said that the application of the student-centered method, few lectures, and more activities, has been promoted in public schools and the school curriculum is developed based on this approach. He shared his experience: if I wanted to teach students how to add numbers, I would briefly explain to the students and then we would do one or two examples of addition. Later, I would have the students do more examples. Also, activities were included in the books, which had to be done as class activities for students, either through group work or individual work, which was a good method that students could benefit from.

Concerning accessibility to educational materials and resources, there are some differences between private tutoring centers provided by individuals and NGOs in rural areas. Some teachers from rural areas stated that students at JRS courses have access to resources such as projectors, computers, blackboards, and visual aids relevant to their subjects to teach effectively. However, students in private courses provided by the community mentioned that they do not have access to such materials.

Furthermore, teachers in private tutoring centers expressed that textbooks of private tutoring centers have been prepared from the Konkor questions of previous years or external resources.

My experience was such that we purchased textbooks from websites. We bought books that were in English and a group of teachers translated them. We picked up the questions and topics that we found appropriate and useful, and prepared chapters. And when there were more chapters, we compiled them into a book. Our primary source was the school curriculum. When I bought a foreign book, it was considered to match the topics of the school textbooks. Our center mostly used Turkish resources. (02/11/2024)

Some teacher participants said that teachers can choose their preferred teaching resources. For instance, Jawad in FGD#3 said that he was using different textbooks of different authors. As he said, "When I was teaching mathematics in the course, I used the books of Mr. X for algebra and Professor Y for arithmetic".

4.5.3 Assessment Processes and praising ways in Private Tutoring Centers

Participants perceived that PTCs conduct weekly and monthly tests. The questions come from three different subjects: science, language social subjects, and Islamic subjects. Student participants say that the main focus of private tutoring centers is on science subjects which include mathematics, physics, and chemistry. The social subjects such as history, geography; languages, Dari and Pashto, and Islamic subjects, Islamic teachings, Tafseer- Interpretations of holy Quran. Students are given tasks to do self-study for non-science subjects to set for weekly and monthly tests. Zahra, a student participant, said that they had to review one or two books weekly and they had a test at the weekends. They also said that they had monthly exams, from

the subjects of the past weeks, which have helped them improve their exam skills: fast reading of the questions and finding the accurate answers. After the exam was done, they were given the answer key of the question to check their answers. When all the contents are covered and the Konkor exam is close by, the PTC arranges some mock tests to prepare them more practically. Zaman, a teacher participant in interview#2 shared his experience and said,

The mock test was designed exactly like the real exam. All the questions for the exam had been designed from the questions of previous forms before conducting the exam. Students had to select their major and university and complete the questions within 160 minutes. On the exam day, most teachers were present for invigilation. After some days, their results were announced and installed on a noticeboard so everyone could see their results. (Interview#2, 11/02/2024)

Although similar tests are conducted by private centers in big towns independently, village private tutoring relies on teachers from other centers. Shamir in interview#1, a teacher participant from a rural context, said.

Because we didn't have the resources for the mock exam, we couldn't take the Konkor mock exam from the students, even though we took the subject exam monthly or weekly. And some years, teachers from the provincial or Kabul training centers would come and hold a mock exam. This not only helped the students to understand their level and readiness but also was a kind of advertisement for their training center. (Interview#1, 22/02/2024)

Wahid, a student participant in FGD#2, talked about the difference in types of questions. He said the exam in school is quite different from the Konkor exam. Most questions in the school exam were descriptive and analytical, while questions that came in the Konkor exam were more in the forms of MSQ- Multiple choice questions, true/ false, and filling gaps.

Moreover, private tutoring centers offer incentives for those students who obtain higher scores on the tests, which reinforces competition among students. Omid, a student participant in FGD#2 said that PTCs encourage competent students by offering incentives and inspiring them to work harder. Unlikely, there is no such praise in public schools. Some parents also discussed that it makes learning more competitive and makes their children work harder to gain better marks.

4.5.4 Differences in Student Population and Giving Feedback

According to the findings of this study, the number of students in a private tutoring classroom is far greater than in a school setting. Mrs. Zarifa in interview#4 said that the number of students in school is usually between 20-50 students in a class. Similarly, this number is similar in NGO private tutoring centers. However, this number is different in private tutoring centers provided by individuals. As an example, a participant in FGD#2 commented in this regard that the number of students in a private tutoring center is from 300 to 700. Additionally, some student participants perceive that tutoring centers are more flexible in addressing students' voices. This is the perception of a student from a rural context in FGD#2 which was shared in this regard.

Our experience in school was such that we couldn't be very active because there was a kind of teacher-centered approach. Whatever the teacher said, we had to accept our education. We didn't protest much, but in private educational settings, whether it's a course or college entrance exam preparation, students can be more active and express their opinions. If they don't like something, they can raise the voice of their dissatisfaction. (FGD#2, 02/27/2024).

It is said by some participants that private tutoring centers provide feedback, while it is not a common practice in public schools. Omid in FGD#2, expressed that when they got lower scores, they received feedback in the areas which needed improvement. He added that there is a co-teacher in PTCs which assist the main teacher in giving feedback and answering students' questions.

4.6 Disadvantages of private tutoring

Despite the advantages, private tutoring has been perceived that it could lead to some disadvantages for parents and students. Financial issues have been one of the drawbacks mentioned repeatedly by participants, which means it is not affordable for most of the students. They mentioned that they had paid different amounts of money from 800 to 1200 Afghani. Some parents also expressed the same concern. As an example, Malik, a parent participant in

FGD#3 mentioned that due poor economic situation and poverty, most families cannot provide the fees of their children for private tutoring services.

It has been mentioned both by teachers and students that private tutoring could have negative impacts on school students. Sami in FGD#2 stated that private tutoring centers discouraged school students from mainstream learning and increased their absenteeism. Similarly, Omid another participant in the discussion said.

When I was in grade twelve, there was a boy who was in the second position of the class. Since starting to study at private tutoring center, he has becoming too much busy with homework and studies. Even he was doing the course assignment in the school class. Finally, he lost his position and fell to fifth place" (FGD#2, 27/02/2024).

Most student participants complained that they had experienced pressure and anxiety due to overloaded studies. Dunya, a participant in FGD#1 shared her experience that due to loads of lessons and lack of sleep, which caused her to learn a new lesson with a lot of difficulties. She added that they had to pass an exam from one subject per week, making her memorize a book in a week. Additionally, it is also mentioned that it caused her to get annoyed easily with simple things.

Elina, another student participant mentioned that it impacted negatively on socializing. It made her such busy that she could not make time for social and family gatherings. Moreover, students felt overwhelmed because both school and private tutoring lessons were running at the same time, which was mentioned by another participant in FGD#2.

Furthermore, the loads of lessons could impact the way students learn. As an example, Dunya, a participant from Kabul City, explained: "In private tutoring, we were focused on memorizing the contents. About my experience, I have forgotten most lessons and formulas after passing only one year. I think it has been because of receiving too many lessons within a short time."-FGD#1, 19/02/2024

Another disadvantage shared by some participants is that private tutoring could lead to an increase the disparity among students from different genders, contexts, and economic conditions. Some participants say that urban students have more access to quality private tutoring centers, while students in rural contexts do not. In interview#1, Shamir, a teacher from a rural context, said, "There are a lot of quality private tutoring centers in cities, with years of experience, and are equipped with every necessary materials and resources". He then added that it has been the reason that the number of students from urban areas in public universities is far greater than rural students. On the other hand, another participant added that it is affordable for those families who are in better economic conditions and said.

In my village, those parents who are in a better economic condition and when their sons are in grades 11 and 12, send their children to large cities such as Kabul, Herat, or other provinces to rent a room and study at private tutoring centers. Parents with middle economic conditions send their children to the town of the province such as Nili, [the center of Daikundi province]. Parents with low economic conditions send their children for private tutoring launched in the village. It is clear that the quality of private tutoring in cities is much better in comparison with villages (Interview#1, 22/1/2024). Similarly, a female participant in FGD#1, also said that leaving the village and moving to cities to study is possible for boys. She discussed, "Parents do not allow their girls to live in a city alone without their parents".

Moreover, some students complain that private tutoring centers focus more on top students who gain high marks in the tests. Elina in FGD#1 expressed her experience in the following words, "There were more than 500 students in a class. After a while, those students who had scored top, they were identified and included in a group called elite group. The centers focused more on this group and they were provided some extra chapters with more difficult questions (19/02/2024). Similarly, a teacher participant in interview#2 shared his viewpoint about the

elite group in this way: the success of this group means the success of the center. If they gain top scores in the exam, the center could use it for advertisement later.

Chapter 5

Discussion and Conclusion

5.1 Discussion

This chapter discusses the findings gathered from different stakeholders' information and summarizes the earlier chapters in the conclusion part. The core aim of this study is to explore the perception of the stakeholders about private tutoring and the role it plays in the Konkor preparation of school students. As mentioned in the earlier chapters, the data for this study has been collected through interviews and FGD from the participants- parents, teachers, and students. As the reviewed literature for this study indicates, private tutoring has become a widespread phenomenon across the world which attracted the attention of researchers to study it at country-level and international level. This study will discuss the findings in light of similar studies conducted in other parts of the world on this topic.

There are both positive and negative perceptions regarding private tutoring among Afghan students, teachers, and parents which is comparable to the results gained in this topic in other contexts. They viewed it from academic, social, and economic perspectives. From a positive viewpoint, it is perceived as an effective, addressing, and satisfying way of learning. However, it is being complained about for increasing social and economic disparities, burdening low-income families, disturbing school lessons, and leading to surface learning.

Some said that private tuition influences positively on student preparation for the Konkor exam. In Afghanistan, students often start Konkor preparation at private tutoring centers when they are at school secondary level. Most such centers have several years of operation and experience in this field. Most of the student participants said that their success in the exam was due to private tuition, which is similar to the student perceptions of other countries including Bangladesh, Pakistan (Sahito, Z., et al. 2017), India, and Tanzania, who refer their school grade

success to receiving private learning. According to Bray (1999), it is more common in societies where the education system is highly competitive and exam-centered.

Additionally, some respondents stated that private tutoring addressed the challenges that students and teachers faced at school such as teacher shortage, lack of learning resources, inappropriate learning approaches and school curriculum implementation, insufficient teaching time, and poor school leadership. The shortage of teachers at schools motivated both school teachers and students to tend to private tutoring (Hartmann. S, 2008). As an example, a student in FGD#2 pointed out that because the number of teachers was insufficient at school they were being taught some subjects by a teacher with different and irrelevant teaching and education background to the subject. Therefore, students were motivated to participate in private tuition. On the other side, some public school teacher's especially male teachers, who are usually the bread-winner of the family in Afghanistan, mentioned that due to their low salary at school, they were forced to teach at the private centers. However, the money they receive for private tutoring is far higher than teaching at schools. For example, Mr. Ahmadi revealed that the salary he was paid for private tutoring was three times greater than teaching at school. Relevantly, a study showed that private tutoring centers in Afghanistan attract more qualified teachers with strong educational backgrounds by offering, on average, five times more salary in comparison to schools (Olmedilla, 2005).

Lack of teaching and learning resources at school is another issue discussed by participants. Most students especially from rural contexts expressed that they were faced with a lack of classroom, teaching materials such as markers, whiteboard, or blackboard chalk, and textbooks. However, a few students from urban schools said that they had access to the school library and laboratory for exploring topics or experiential activities which were not well-equipped. Additionally, this challenge is more severe in rural contexts. For instance, Shamir in an

interview expressed, "There were a lot of problems there- School. Even school did not provide properly our basic demand such as chalk; which made us ask students to contribute".

On the other hand, participants stated that private tutoring provides better learning and teaching resources and material for students and teachers. Most teacher participants said that the classrooms at private tutoring centers were equipped with computers, projectors or LCDs, and the Internet. One of the teachers from rural contexts, who taught at NGO private tutoring, stated that the center provided the learning material requested.

Another positive point for private tutoring is focusing on specific subjects. Unlike the school context, where a student should study five or six subjects every day, they study one specific subject. Commonly, private tutoring centers teach sequentially mathematics including Arithmetic, Geometry, Trigonometry, statistics; Physics, and Chemistry subjects.

Furthermore, it is perceived by some participants that the teaching time at school is insufficient. Both teacher and student participants said the teaching time, which is between 30 and 40 minutes, is not adequate to cover the lesson plan. Some of them also added some essential subjects such as physics, chemistry, or mathematics, from which Konkor questions come, are taught one or two times per week, which is not enough. At private tutoring centers, however, the learning and teaching is more, usually within one and half hours or two hours which is adequate, as stated by teacher respondents.

Apart from its positive influences, private tutoring is being viewed as bringing some negative outcomes, especially for vulnerable and low-income families. When participants were asked about its disadvantages, most participants mentioned that it increases disparity among students, especially among parents. Certainly, private tutoring services are not free, which is not affordable for every family. In this sense, some respondents feel it serves more for those students whose economic condition is strong. Therefore, these students have better

performance at school and Konkor exam. It is especially true for most people as more than 55% of Afghan people are living under the poverty line- earning less than 1.99 US dollars per day. For low-income parents, it is a heavy burden to send their children to private learning centers (Valerio, 2013).

Despite this disadvantage, participants expressed that private tutoring increased disparity among students living in different places. Particularly, it increased inequality between urban and rural students. It is stated by some students that the quality and resources of private tuition centers in cities are far better than in rural areas. Here, rural area refers to the villages that are far away from big cities and towns. For instance, one male teacher said, "There are a lot of quality private tutoring centers in cities, with years of experience, and are equipped with every necessary materials and resource". In contrast, there are not many professional teachers, poor learning resources and materials, and a lack of technologies in the learning process. Similar to this finding, a study in India demonstrated that students in urban areas not only take more advantage of using private learning but most of their time is spent on private tuition (Azam, 2016). Additionally, private tuition assists more boy students than girl students. Parents in rural areas usually send their children to towns and big cities to study at private tutoring centers, which serves more boys in comparison to girls. This is mainly due to the cultural attitude of people in Afghanistan. Culture and male-dominated norms in Afghanistan are the main barriers to girls' education (Bamik, 2019).

In addition to mentioned disadvantages, it is also perceived to disturb the school education. Some participants said that when students start Konkor preparation, their focus turns from school learning to private learnings. For example, in FGD#2 a student said, "Second, it causes careless for school system. It causes the student not only not properly study the school lesson but increase their absentism". The possible reason behind this disattentivity is that they not

only face with loads of readings from private tutoring but from school as well. For example, a student shared his thoughts in this regard and said,

During Konkor's preparation in recent years, students are not only studying for the Konkor but also dealing with school subjects. The pressures of school are significant for young individuals, which makes us feel overwhelmed by the pressures of our studies.

Similar to Afghanistan's context, teachers in Nepal also perceive that student become less attentive to school studies as a consequence of private tutoring (Subedi, 2018). Almost all students both boys and girls experienced different degrees of anxiety and stress during the Konkor preparation period which caused some negative impacts on their health and learning ability. This is the experience of one of the female participants who said.

During the year I was studying, I experienced a lot of stress and anxiety. Due to time constraints, I also suffered from sleep deprivation. In my opinion, there was an increase in boredom as well. The stress I was under made it harder for us to learn our lessons. (FGD#1, 19/02/2024)

Similarly, another student said that due to loads of studying and lack of breaks, they could not find time to engage in social gatherings and have entertainment.

Beyond these disadvantages, they mentioned that private tutoring learning focuses more on memorization than understanding of concepts. As evidence, a student said, "In my opinion, private tutoring is just about memorization of books. I think about it, a year has passed since I took exams, and many things are not in my memory. I even can't recall mathematical formulas that I had studied extensively". Learning is not just about a quantitative increase in knowledge, it is more about the ability to understand concepts and interpret and the ability to solve problems (Shaw, 2019). However, the priority of private tutoring is to make sure that students are prepared for the exam without considering whether their learning happened deeply or not.

The findings of this study indicated that private tutoring centers prepare students for the exam by providing quality teachers, supporting school subjects and contents, and enhancing students'

reading skills, self-confidence, and exam and major selection. Unlike the school context, where students are faced with a shortage of teachers and quality teachers, students seemed satisfied with private tutoring teachers. Unfortunately, there is a shortage of teachers in public schools in Afghanistan (Roehrs, 2015). Almost all students stated that they had competent and experienced teachers there who knew how to conduct and manage a classroom properly. Additionally, private tutoring supports school learning. It means that students may not receive effectively the topics and contents covered in school due to the challenges they face. However, private tutoring centers act as helpful learning so that student can strengthen their subject knowledge. Bray (2003) considers private tutoring as supportive education for mainstream education. Furthermore, private tutoring enhances some critical skills that seem important for the Konkor exam. First, it enhances the reading skills of students. As one student mentioned in this regard, their reading speed and cognition have been enhanced by the extensive readings they received from tutoring centers. This skill is especially effective in social and language subjects that require fast reading for the exam. Second, they mentioned exam skills or having the ability to find easily the correct answer. As the students take extensive weekly and monthly exams, they become more competent in identifying the types of questions, analyzing questions, and finding and circling correctly the right answer. Third, taking private tutoring increases the self-confidence of students. Private learning develops the self-confidence of students (Subied, 2018). The Konkor exam is indeed a very competitive and stressful experience for most students. However, the mock tests designed and administrated by private tutoring centers orient students with the procedures of the exam. As they mention, it mentally prepares them for the exam.

Finally, students mentioned that private tutoring staff assists them in their major and university selection. As Konkor is a very competitive exam and there are limited seats available, it requires a very careful and thoughtful major selection. Each candidate can have maximally

three selections of majors and universities. In private tutoring centers, students are supervised on major selection usually after their mock test results are announced. They are instructed which major and university they should choose that enhances their success possibility.

The results showed that there are several differences between school and private tutoring centers in terms of assessment, teaching timing, student population in a classroom, providing instruction, teaching materials, and approval of student's achievements. As some participants discussed, private tutoring students are faced with extensive weekly and monthly exams. The exam is the only way of assessment conducted using private tutoring centers. However, in school, students mention that there are various assessment approaches including asking questions, group work, and homework. On the other hand, some studies showed that private tutoring learning diminished learning from deep understanding to memorizing contents for the exam. Their focus is to prepare students for fulfilling the requirements of the exam rather than to assist them in understanding the contents. It is due to the nature of public exams. Another discussed difference is the student population within a classroom. The student population in a school context is far greater than school setting. At school, there are between 30 to 50 students, whereas the number of students in private tutoring classes is even reached 1000 students. Although studies show that the student population and quality of teaching have a direct correlation, most students perceive the teaching methods used in the private tuition courses as effective. Despite the discussed points, they also stated that teachers at private tutoring centers provide feedback for students. The students often give feedback when student pass a weekly and monthly exam and they say they should focus on the parts they need improvement. Finally, when students were asked how much private tutoring assisted them for Konkor out of ten, they gave different marks between six score to 10 scores. However, girls perceived it as more significant with 8.8 points on average than boys with an average of 7.5.

5.2 Conclusion

This study on private tutoring in Afghanistan and its role in student preparation for Konkor is conducted with students, teachers, and parents who are considered key players in children's education through interviews and FGDs. After analyzing the data, some interesting findings were obtained. Generally, there is an optimistic perception about private tuition. However, there are some concerns and drawbacks discussed by them. Mainly, there were two aims targeted for the study: exploring the perceptions of stakeholders and understanding their role for student success in the Konkor exam. They perceive this phenomenon from academic, social, economic, and wellbeing perspectives. Academically, it serves student to review their school subjects and practice more mock tests. However, there was a concern that it could serve against student's motivation for school learning. Furthermore, it is perceived as a source of income for school students whose salary is very low. On the contrary, it is affordable only for those families who belong to middle and high-income families. From a social perspective, it become a source of gathering different people from different provinces and learning environments, it also serves more for students from urban areas compared to rural areas. The respondents perceive that private tutoring equips them with the skills and knowledge required for successful passing of the exam including self-confidence, reading, exam, and time management. They also discussed some differences between school and private tutoring contexts in terms of their assessment, teaching approaches, session timing, and number of students per class and giving feedback.

What I learned from the findings is that private tutoring despite positive aspects could lead to some disparities among students. Student from urban contexts have the superior of accessing to quality and well-known private tutoring centers. On the contrary, it is less accessible for female students who are living in remote areas as private tutoring centers are commonly established in cities and big towns.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on findings gathered from different participants and some considerations noticed throughout this journey, the following recommendations are made:

- Although private tutoring centers have been promoted in the country, they cannot be the alternative for mainstream school. Therefore, education authorities and school leadership should focus on improving the quality of school education especially in terms of Konkor preparation so that student's dependency on private tuition reduce, which is not affordable for most people.
- The quality of school teachers, which students frequently cite as a reason, should be improved so that students do not have to resort to expensive and stressful private tutoring centers.
- Private tutoring is a multidimensional and broad topic to study. There could be more studies on the status of private tutoring in recent time especially after banning school and private tutoring centers for Afghan girls. Although the private tutoring centers are closed, some reports indicate that girls participate in home classes (classes taken place at the houses) which seems an interesting and demanding case for study. Overall, there are different dimensions of private tutoring that could be explored thoroughly with a larger sample size and using different approaches including class observation and face-to-face interviews.
- It is recommended especially for NGOs that more initiatives and interventions should be developed to support remote and less advantaged students to take preparation for the Konkor exam. It will be particularly crucial for building the capacity of female students living in remote villages who cannot go to big cities, unlikely to their male peers, due to cultural constraints.
- It is suggested that private tutoring centers should apply active learning approaches rather than passive learning ones in their teaching methods. Mostly, it is stated that students forget

easily the concepts and lessons after a while. However, if student are given a chance to be involved in the learning process, their learning will be more sustainable.

• Adding to the above points, parents should be involved in the learning process. Almost all students and parents revealed that both school and private tutoring centers ignore the role of parental involvement. Parents should be treated as key stakeholders of children's education which could not only contribute to child learning but also to improving the overall teaching and learning system.

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Appendix A. Consent Letter

Dear participant,

I am Rahimullah Haidari a master's student at BRAC University, BRAC Institute of

Educational Development (BRAC-IED). The title of my thesis is "Private Tutoring in

Afghanistan: The Role of Private Tutoring in the Kankor Exam". As part of the master's

requirements, I am conducting this research and I request you to participate in the interview. It

is committed that all the information you provide will be kept completely confidential and your

answer will only be used for academic research purposes. If you feel uncomfortable answering

any question, you can ignore it. However, I encourage you to provide honest and accurate

answers based on your understanding and knowledge.

Thank you for your assistance and support.

Respectfully,

Rahimullah Haidari

Postgraduate's student at BRAC University

Appendix B. Interview Guide

Pri	vate Tutoring (Center:		L	ocation:			_		
Scl	hool level: _		Teacher's	(T)	Name: _		Т.	Exp	at	PTC:
— Т І	Exp at School:		T. Q	ualif	ication:			_		
Ag	ge:	Gender:								
Qu	iestions:									
1.	As a teacher, v	what is your p	erception ab	out p	rivate tutor	ing?				
2.	How were the activities conducted in the educational center? Or in simpler terms, what did									
	you do to prepare students for the entrance exam (Konkur)?									
3.	You have experience teaching in both schools and entrance exam centers. What is the									
	difference between teaching methods in schools and private tutoring centers?									
4.	I want to know	want to know your opinion about their teaching methods in two different references.								
5.	You were teaching both in school and in the educational center, how did you manage both									
	institutions?									
6.	How do privat	How do private tutoring centers prepare students for the entrance exam (Konkur)?								
7.	What methods	and strategie	s did you us	e in y	our centers	?				
8.	I want to know	v what educat	ional materia	als yo	ou used.					
9.	What do you know about the advantages and disadvantages of private tutoring in									
	Afghanistan?									
10.	. How did you 1	measure the e	ffectiveness	of yo	our work?					
11.	. What were yo	ur exams like	?							
12.	. Can you tell th	ne experience	of one of yo	ur su	ccessful stu	ıdents				

Appendix C. Focus Group Discussion Guide

- 1. How long have you been taking private classes?
- 2. What is your understanding of private tutoring?
- 3. How have you benefited from private tutoring? Why or why not?
- 4. What is your motivation for taking preparatory classes?
- 5. What difficulties have you experienced with preparatory classes?
- 6. How do you think your parents and teachers feel about preparatory classes?
- 7. Have you noticed any changes in your academic performance since you started taking preparatory classes?
- 8. How have preparatory classes helped you prepare for the entrance exam?
- 9. How do preparatory classes differ from the school education process?
- 10. In which specific sections of the entrance exam do you feel preparatory classes have helped you?
- 11. Did you feel more confident on the entrance exam because of preparatory classes? Why or why not?
- 12. Can you share any strategies or methods you have learned from preparatory classes that helped prepare for the entrance exam?
- 13. Would you recommend preparatory classes to other students who are preparing for the entrance exam? Why or why not?

Appendix D. Sample of FGD Note

اولمی خواه مباای نسوال شرو عن مکه چف کرم که یدبه چی خاطر ضرورت بین استکه آموزش خصوصی من و روزت کورس ها و جوداشته بشد و آموزشخ صوصی در کورس ها و جوداشته بشد هرکه متل دیگاه خور ا بگوی د ؟

قسهکهه میم درفه انج ستان درمکتب های و نه یبه و از هدر سیاشنی ستی ج بیتن ها میروند از خسر ا خوب است خودشش ان زحمت کهشون د می خوران د خود راب جاههی رسون د اما ازب جا خودمش ا مدسه سه می بر ادران مکه درمکتب های و نهی در س خوران دن اون اخوش ان زحمت کهشون در می خوران املیسی اری ازب چاسه ستن نی خوران سبازی از اس سب کورس ها مراج عکون سباه آن جای ادبگیرن د و به نظر مه می خاطرهمی لی ل می و راب اشکه ب خاطری می شت کس ب نام و نقل به کورس های خوروس عبر و سرون د.

شیکر از شما هیگاه هگر

تشهر از هگاه شما

خوب مه مولم ق مستهمبه منظر وستولم که قتری کی از دلال خو ای استکه درس خوب و درسبه شکل خوببه شکل خوببه شکل خوببه شکل خوببه شکل خوببه شکل خوببه از شکل خوببه شاگر دان توری تورست و مهنان عدم و جوداست ادانب تجربه کی از دلایل ای بوده دلایلی از ای استکه شراگ ر دان قدری توری توری به ی به فانش شان فلز دهمی شود و مهنای کی از دلایل ای بوده و تورسی تورس و الات سی اشد و شاگر دان قدر در د منش ان نهاشد و توتیم می روند می که ورس آمزشی که آم هی که ورب خوان دی مهوت مام درس ما مرورمی شودک در سوس الگشت خودی موت مام درس ما مرورمی شودک در سود از آماد کون د

تشرکس از هگاهشمایهگو کدام هگاه

می شود شرگ ردان بیمقار همان مضمون رلی ای گئی کی رند م خیرو صلب خش نی اناگ بی اشدی اگرب خشکن اک ور هم باشد ه مهرق سماست.

یک فیگ اههگر دارم ... جان

همی در س های که در مکسل ما معم ال در س خوال فی مب ملت جربه شهبسی اری از کست اب هامثل کست اب کی هی از یا از فی می در سی از بی

شی کر از شما فیگاهشما رگونتم سواله فگربه ادامه معهبس

از تجبخود بگوید همی کورس هاش امرا به چی شیل کمک کرده ردق سمتک را به علی مشخصا سری تجبه خودبری نوی مشخصا سری تجبه خودبری نویگوی دکورس هابه چی شک آن ماده سری تجبه آماده ساختبرای ایم تحدید و می تواند شورک کری د؟.

لطف ابگوی د کورس چگون ه شما راک مک کرد درق سمت آمادس اختن برایک انکور درب فی و بسک ه برادار گوفت ن در کیوت و مرای فی و بسک م برادار گوفت ن در کیوت و مرای فی و بسک م

شیکراز نظرشما

درق سمت مهارت های شماسپری کودی در است حان ابرق سمت مکمی کن دموض و عات را هستی ن می شودی شرب کوری دی دک و رسیم چوش کاکم کمی کان بگوی د؟

شیکر بھی ج مشدم عهگو کدامن ظر

تشكر ل شما جواب خود ركون

لهل خودت چیبود ؟

تشركر ازشما

كدام مهارت الشما رك ك كريك مشمافظىت اىن رياى داتى دىد بكمان كور رايى داتى د ؟

مهای شون ه به خاطرک ه سو الات را بعیویی م زود حلک رده تعلینی م ق ت ماضهای همی شبون طر مه لم حل ات که دی آمی گیره از سرعت لم ده و ق ت محمی کندک مس و الات را قری ق ف ای م که مدف سو ال چی است و از ما چی ی خ و و بله دی شور سو الاتکان کورن کت طل لی شان م مریب و دک مس و ال رقعی ق ب خ و بله دی شور سو الاتکان کورن کت ماس و ال چی است و از ما چی ی خ و بله دی شور سو الاتکان کورن کت ماصل می شان م مریب و دک مسوال رقعی ق ن خ و بله دی شور سو الاتکان کورن کت ماصل می شور ال چی است.

... جانگهاه شما چیست؟

می شمکمی کے پینوگویممی شمیر الشت سطحی کری در است ب خاطری که ملان کور می خورای می خورای می خورای می خورای می خورای می خورای می خورای می خورای می خورای می خورای می خورای می خورای می خورای می است کے می می است کے می می خورای می خورای می خورای می خورای می خورای می خورای می خورای می خورای می خورای می خورای می خورای می خورای می خورای می خورای می خورای می خورای می خورای می خورای می می خورای می می خورای م

درست درمض لمین جتماعی ای موضوع و جوداشت مبلش یدعنی منسم از ترای خ و غرافیه اسای ن مضلی ن ؟

وستاست وستاكو كدامنظريه كرئس تعبري مرء سواله عدى

دری کسبخش میهگر ما رکناک و رکم که کرد ای بودک مبترای ماول می تعبن نکینی مک که دامش مهمتر است و کدامش که مهتر است و که دامش که مهتر است و تهرک زکمتر روی مض ای ن که مهتر است و تهرک زکمتر روی مض ای ن که موره اول می م موره اول می می دی که رد .

درستست مضاهن ک کاتر مهماست اوکدام هااستاگر هشوبگود؟

طور نثمال ما ههش هترم کر روی روان های هی ردی روی کت البه پشت و دری ازی اس و الکم های هبه او خاطر تمای و الکم های هبه او خاطر ملبط در و هی بتی شتر خود را روی اون اس بری هی درم. روی اون اس بری هی درم.

وستاستشىكر

مى خواهبهف ممم چىنوقى مركز امۇشى لشت؟

بینظر مه قدر چیبن بلش تیبروس هی کس الهبو دکت اب های مکتب را مرومی گردی به شتری نجی بی که نیخ در می بینظر مه قدر کی بین بیروس هی کس الهبو دکت اب حجزی اد کی خوال هم فی خوال هم می بدن از اوک مدری که مت دوکت اب را کی خوال هی مضامی نفی که کی کی اضی اون ار ه جدا کی خوال هی مدرس کی خون دی ممات حان که او خاطرف شار زی اهبود خجم زی اد را بیان حفظمی کودی به گرار که می دورت می می دورت می مورد اما می کودی به کاورد.

بخشک فش او عن متالی ر می کامس توی سی فش ار عهای ه همی رهش ملکوی دچه تشیر اتن فی شخص ا خودت تربه کرین ؟

بخششهاشه همی رهبانپرسانهی کنم مشلاستویس که شمامشلافش اردرسی که تجربه دین تانوم تا و این دین تانوم تان میف مین میش میگوی د جهارات نان می خود تان میف مین میش میگوی د جهارش راتن فی د را در خود تان میف می د بگوی د ؟

مموسالکه در سمی خول دمبخاطر از کسی ی ار ممانتیری سی هشتیم متمشیقی هشتیم کی ای ابیم شی از نامی شری از کسی ی از ممانتیری سی همشی می خول می می خول می می خول می می خول می می خول می می خول می می خول می می خول

دیگ دوستاندر قسمت عب دای شرهی شدودی دگاه خو را بگوی د ؟

وستاستشیکر ازشما

بلی قق کهمفتهی کی از ممیمش الت است قتک مههمشاگردان لایق است اورهاوله سقرار مید فی هی هی هی هی هی گراد زودگی در از را مدن ظرمی گی وی زک مباع شیمش و دکش اگر ادر وی گر مم علاق می وی نشان زید ده می از بین برد شیگ اولهی سعبد فی دن بی دف از او خاطر ای باعث می شود رو حش اگر د صفی اگر ده فی شی می فی فی شرو بروی فی شی اگر دان راب می که لاداز مه مدن ظروگی وی ن و قت یک مبه می از بین برده شودی می شی اگر دان راب می که لاداز مه مدن ظروگی وی ن و قت یک مبه می که لاداز مدن ظروگی وی ن و وقت یک مبه می که لاداز مدن ظروگی وی ن و و قت یک مبه می که لاداز مدن ظروگی وی ن و وقت یک می می می می می خرا ما را مدن ظروگی وی ن د من ما نها و ساست که می که د من اشرق وی می ستبی هبه او مه ولهی سبد فی د اور مم می شی که وی که گرد د می وی که گرد می الی می که را می که و امی شیم سروی شویش سوری می خوال در س می خوال دم بی که و ای می که در می از می که در می می خوال دم بی که در می می خوال دم بی می خوال دم بی می خوال دم بی می خوال دم می است که می ادا می می خوال دم بی می خوال دم بی می خوال دم بی در و ای باعث می شود که می می خوال دم می می خوال در س می خوال دم بی خوال دم بی دو ای می بی می خوال دم بی می خوال دم بی در و ای باعث می شود که می می خوال در می می خوال در می می خوال در می می خوال در می می خوال در می می خوال در می می خوال در می می خوال در می می خوال دم می می خوال در می می می خوال در می می خوال در می می خوال در می می می خوال در می می خوال در می می می خوال در می می می خوال در می می خوال در می می می خوال در می می می می خوال در می می می می خوال در می می می خوال در می می می خوال در می می می خوال در می می می خوال در می می می خوال در می می می خوال در می می می خوال در می می می می می خوال در می می می می خوال در می در می می می می می می می خوال در می می می می می می

. شما با چه چاش راموتجه شدی طف بگوید ؟

قسمیکه مه در اوگیفتیم مه امادگی ی کسالهن خول دم و معبه مدت ۳ماه زمه بانی کهبرن امهی ک بخشکناکور هیژه بود لقبحان هیژه بود کناکور را خودم ده ایق سمی بود کستن ها هر روز لقبحن هالای مروز دو مضمون ماتحان هیداهیم هر مخسمون را ستعقسی می کردن هر روز اور هبط د لقبحان بدی م و ایق سمی بود گفت کی در سمی خول ی بدی م و ایق سمی بود ی بخی ک دام را تا دی بود که بالای تعتوج کنی متور گفت کی در در کورش شریم کنی واگر کروشش می کورگی واگر کورش شریم کنی واگر کروشش می کی در مضمور فی سمی بود و در کورش شریم کی ای دو مضمور فی سمی بود که دری ک روز خول دن دو مضمور فی کی می در من خول ی هی در من خول ی هی در من خول ی هی در من خول ی هی در می خول ی هی در می خول ی هی در می خول ی هی در می خول ی هی در می خول ی هی در می خول ی هی در می خول ی هی در می خول ی هی در می خول ی هی در می خول ی هی در می خول ی هی در می خول ی هی در می خول ی هی در می خول ی می در می خول ی می در می خول ی هی در می خول ی می در می خول ی می در می خول ی هی در می خول ی می در می خول ی می در می خول ی می در می خول ی می در می خول ی می در می خول ی می در می خول ی می در می خول ی می در می خول ی می در می خول ی می در می خول ی می در می خول ی می در می خول ی می در می خول ی می در می خول ی در می خول ی در می خول ی در می خول ی در می خول ی در می خول ی در می در می خول ی در می خول ی در می در می خول ی در می در می خول

شیکر گر وستا؟

بعضی از رهاکز اموز سفی س زی اد مهدف نش اگر دانت و انهر داخت ران الشت خوبی در بان بودک م متوبی ست نقص در وایب رداز فی س خوردا می جان متوبی بردازی .

بینظر مه درس های که خوندی می کی کی سطحی بو هب خاطری که محالی که همکرمی کی می که سال از ایم حان الدر که می می می می می می الدر که می الدر که می می می می می الدر که می می می می می الدر که می می می خوال ده به می خوال ده به می خوالی می می خوالی می خوالی می خوالی می خوالی می می خوالی می می خوالی می می خوالی می می خوالی می می خوالی می می خوالی می می خوالی می می خوالی می می خوالی می می خوالی می می خوالی می می خوالی می می خوالی می می خوالی می می خوالی می می خوالی می خوالی می خوالی می خوالی می می خوالی می می خوالی می می خوالی می می خوال

وستاستشیکر از شما